

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 245785
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TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 245785

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: RH, PDEV, UK, UN

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: CONSULTATIONS ON NEXT STAGES

1. PLEASE PASS THIS MESSAGE TO FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN (OR
JOHNNIE GRAHAM) FROM DICK MOOSE.

2. I THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL IF I GAVE YOU SOME OF MY
LATEST "UNOFFICIAL" THINKING ON NEXT STEPS BEFORE WE GET
TOGETHER TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS IN GREATER DETAIL.

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3. AMERICAN PARTICIPATION: IN HIS WASHINGTON CONVERSATIONS
PRESIDENT OBASANJO INDICATED THAT AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN
THE NEGOTIATING PROCEEDINGS WOULD BE HIGHLY DESIRABLE. WE
ARE, NEVERTHELESS, CONCERNED THAT A TOO BLATANT US IDENTIFI-
CATION WITH THE CARVER/CHAND TEAM MIGHT BE UNACCEPTABLE TO
THE UN, THE SOVIETS OR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, OR A CONVENIENT

PRETEXT FOR PF/USSR OBJECTION TO THE TALKS AS A WHOLE. WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO WORK OUT SOME FORMULA, HOWEVER, BY WHICH STEVE LOW (OR ANOTHER AMERICAN) WOULD BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE TEAM. AT THIS TIME, I LEAN TOWARD DESIGNATING AN AMERICAN "LIAISON OFFICER " TO LORD CARVER'S STAFF WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT, IN PRACTICE, THE INDIVIDUAL MAY BECOME A WORKING MEMBER OF THE UK SIDE OF THE TEAM.

4. VENUE: WHILE NKOMO'S DESIRE TO HOLD TALKS IN JAMAICA OR SOMEWHERE ELSE AWAY FROM DIRECT INFLUENCE OF THE OAU STATES PROBABLY REFLECTS AN EFFORT TO INCREASE HIS OWN POLITICAL LEVERAGE IN THE TALKS, OBASANJO WAS QUITE EMPHATIC THAT THE MEETINGS SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN AFRICA. WE MAY BE ABLE TO FINESSE THIS ISSUE, AT LEAST AT THE OUTSET, BY HAVING LORD CARVER AND GENERAL CHAND TRAVEL TO SEVERAL AFRICAN CAPITALS WHERE THEY WOULD ENGAGE IN PRELIMINARY TALKS WITH ALL OF THE PARTIES WITH THE VIEW TO ORDERING THE AGENDA OF FURTHER DISCUSSIONS. ONCE COMPLETED, IT MIGHT BE EASIER TO ESTABLISH A VENUE FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

5. PARTICIPATION OF SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA: NKOMO IS OBVIOUSLY RIDING HIGH AND WIDE IN THE SADDLE AND WILL TAKE EVERY ADVANTAGE OF PURSUING HIS PERCEIVED PREEMINENT ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.
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WE CANNOT PANDER TO NKOMO AND KNUCKLE UNDER TO HIS LIKELY DEMAND THAT WE TOTALLY EXCLUDE SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA. SOME ARRANGEMENT WILL HAVE TO BE FOUND TO INCLUDE THEM IN SOME FORM OF NEGOTIATIONS AT AN EARLY STAGE. THE PARALLEL APPROACH WHICH NKOMO WOULD SEEM INTENT ON CHALLENGING STILL HAS MERIT AND WE MAY HAVE TO CALL ON THE FRONT LINE STATES AND NIGERIA TO HELP US PRESS THIS POINT.

6. CERTAINLY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL PRESS FOR THE WIDEST POSSIBLE DISCUSSIONS IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CARVER/CHAND TEAM.(I.E. MILITARY AS WELL AS ALL OTHER TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS INCLUDING SCOPE OF RESIDENT COMMISSIONS AUTHORITY). WE AGREE THAT UN INVOLVEMENT ON ISSUES NOT SPECIFICALLY RELATING TO MILITARY MATTERS SHOULD BE KEPT TO A MINIMUM. WE SEE NO MAJOR PROBLEM WITH YOUR THINKING ON HOW TO BREAK DOWN THE MILITARY-RELATED TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS INTO VARIOUS ELEMENTS, SOME WHICH WOULD REQUIRE ONLY MINIMAL UN INVOLVEMENT AND SOME WHICH WE COULD MORE EASILY JUSTIFY AS LEGITIMATE TOPICS OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN LORD CARVER AND SITHOLE/MU-

ZOREWA. MUCH MAY DEPEND ON HOW THE AGENDA IS STRUCTURED.
I ASSUME CARVER WILL KEEP CHAND BRIEFED ON THE LATTER.
7. AS A MINOR MATTER, I THINK WE SHOULD REFRAIN AS FAR
AS POSSIBLE FROM REFERRING TO THE NEGOTIATIONS AS
"CEASEFIRE TALKS" (I NOTE THAT YOU PLACED THESE WORDS IN
QUOTATION MARKS IN THE MESSAGE WHICH AMBASSADOR JAY
SHARED WITH ME ON MONDAY MORNING.) YOU WILL AGREE, I'M

SURE, THAT THE CEASEFIRE FORMS ONLY ONE ELEMENT OF THESE
DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS AND A TOO INSISTENT PUBLIC
IDENTIFICATION OF THE TALKS WITH THAT ONE GOAL MAY SERVE
TO INCREASE NATIONALIST SUSPICIONS THAT OUR ONLY OBJECTIVE
IS TO GET THEM TO STOP THEIR MILITARY OFFENSIVE. IN THE
SAME VEIN, WE SHOULD AVOID, AT LEAST PUBLICLY, REFERRING
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TO "DISARMING" MEMBERS OF THE LIBERATION FORCES.
DISARMING AND DEMOBILIZATION ARE INDEED IMPORTANT
ELEMENTS TO BE WORKED OUT, BUT ONLY AS PART OF THE
LARGER RESTRUCTURING OF ALL MILITARY FORCES AND THE
CREATION OF THE NEW ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY. VANCE

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